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not emphasized this particular source of physical satisfaction. Of sixteen women who were asked directly, fifteen did say that they preferred having children to intercourse, but almost invariably they added, "Because my children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said they did not want any more children, because feeding them meant so much work. Economic habits, therefore, react directly upon behavior and attitudes of mothers.

513 At night the child shares a mat with its mother. It sleeps alone with
854 her until the father resumes intercourse with his wife. This is supposedly when the child is old enough to sit up alone or even to crawl about. It may be significant that no effort is made to hasten the child's development in these respects. It should be noted that the baby is not necessarily displaced when its parents resume intercourse. It may still
[533] be kept on the same mat. In fact, rather scandalized gossip had it that the death of one child was due to its being crushed accidentally by its parents during sex relations. In addition, if the father has more than one wife he may spend at least half his nights in another household, and then the child sleeps undisturbed with its mother. If the parents do not permit the child to share the sleeping mat with them, the infant is placed with some other adult or an older sibling on a sleeping mat in the common living room.

534 The time at which a man resumes intercourse with his wife after childbirth varies greatly. So far only the time recognized in formal statements has been mentioned. In sex histories given by women it became apparent that men might resume relationships with their wives much sooner and much later, depending on other sex adjustments open to the man. It is true that women, particularly when burdened with large families, sometimes reproach their husbands for undue haste in this respect. Again we have a reflection of economic pressure upon sex
[535] attitudes. Since there is a very clear idea of the connection between the sexual act and childbearing, and since each additional child places extra subsistence burdens on the woman, there is ample reason for her to develop reluctance after a time toward both intercourse and childbearing. This attitude of reluctance, although far from consistent, is evident in ways that will be referred to later, when sex practices are discussed in more detail.

INFANT'S EARLY TRAINING

854 So far in discussing the infancy period, we have been concerned with
1011 the role of the mother and father, the feeding of the infant, and its experiences in bodily contacts and support. The early sex experiences

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of the children themselves are also of interest here. Certain points may 854
be made in connection with the sleeping habits and any disturbances 864
the child might be supposed to feel at being displaced by the father.
First, the child's dependency on the mother is less marked than in our
culture; second, the child is given genital satisfaction through delib-
erate masturbation. One of the favorite substitutes for offering the
breast in an effort to pacify a child is to massage its genitals gently. [593]
It was my impression that this device for pacifying children was used
even more by siblings than by adults. If the observation is correct, the
explanation may be found in two factors: First, the sibling acting as
mother-surrogate cannot pacify the child by offering it food, and sec-
ond, the young sibling may have fewer occasions to express sex interest
than the adult.

No effort is made during infancy to teach the child to talk. Although 868
an adult may sing dance songs to soothe it, there is no deliberate at-
tempt to impart verbal training. At most, the only talking I have seen
an adult direct toward a child is the repetition of its name.

Toilet training, too, is completely disregarded during the prewalking 863
period. Adults exhibit no anger or disgust when a child soils the carry-
ing shawl or the body of the person caring for it. The caretaker cleans
up after the child with the most casual matter-of-factness, wiping off
its buttocks with a bit of leaf, a corn husk, or a bamboo sliver.

Nor is walking urged on the child. Crawling is confined to the rela- 868
tively rare periods when the child is seated on the verandah or in the
living room instead of being in a carrying shawl. Naturally, as the child
gets older more of this freedom is allowed it, and one sometimes sees a
prewalking baby crawling about either in a sitting position with one
leg under it or raised up on all fours. I do not recall ever seeing a child
crawl on hands and knees. When the child of its own volition begins to
stand, it most commonly pulls itself upright holding onto the leg of
some near-by adult. Padafan, a child whose development I was able to
watch with some consistency, definitely learned to stand by pulling
himself up on his mother's leg in an effort to get her attention so that
she would pick him up and nurse him.

When a youngster begins trying to stand, any adult may play with
it and assist it in its efforts at walking, but for both the adult and the
child this is a play activity involving neither consistency nor rewards
and punishments. Thus his first mastery technique does not depend ex-
clusively upon the assistance of a parent. For about eight children whose 856
ages I could determine with some accuracy walking began not much
later than it does with us, which is from the twelfth to the eighteenth

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days he understood. "He is now in his twenty-first month and has not 863
soiled the house in six weeks."

A child who is slow in establishing toilet habits may irritate the mother; then she may shout at him or rap him on the head with her knuckles. However, since sphincter control is instituted relatively late it seems to be a source of little annoyance. Children certainly by the age of three, or five at the latest, are thoroughly trained. I have no data on play with excreta—which does not mean that this does not occur, but it may mean that the problem does not obtrude itself.

Constipation does not seem to be a major problem, despite an indi- 147
gestible carbohydrate diet, which gives most children enlarged abdomens. This judgment concerning constipation rests on the slender evidence that in eighteen months I dispensed only three quarts of castor oil to a total population of about six hundred adults and children. Children certainly represented no more than the proportional two thirds to one half of the people coming for laxatives. Incidentally, they did not have a sufficient repugnance to castor oil to reduce the total consumption.

Bladder control, or at least modesty about urination, seems to come 863
slightly later than sphincter control. I judge this to be the case since it 864
is not unusual to see children of between three and five years standing at the edge of a group and casually urinating without anyone's paying much attention to it. A comparable lack of sphincter control was observed only twice and both times it brought angry scolding from adults. Similarly flatuses, if too persistent, may provoke cross comments, but in general little emphasis is placed on the matter, and in view of the carbohydrate diet even adults are less controlled, and are required to be less controlled, than Euro-Americans in this respect.

BATHING

The cold bath, which at this stage of development replaces the warm 863
sponge-off of infancy, provokes extreme and vocal protest in children. 855
When a child is old enough to stand with some steadiness, it is bathed by having cold water poured over it. Unless the day is hot, the child stands shivering until it dries off. And there is no reward for the ordeal such as is offered by some American Indians, who promise their children health and strength in return for the discomforts of cold baths.

The mother, or some older person, usually scrubs the child, hand- 855
ling it with less gentleness than is shown an infant. The treatment of the child would seem rough to us, but it must be remembered that it is

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of about eighteen months, who had been watching the whole proceeding, was picked up by the mother and nursed. Finally, when Fuifani had quieted down somewhat, her mother tried gently to lead her home, but Fuifani broke out again, struck at her mother, and called her an evil spirit. When the child's convulsive sobbing had again stopped, a little playmate of about eight began poking Fuifani gently and playfully, but she did not respond and once more tears began to roll down her face.

Even where yaws do not make the bath painful, children who are still not very sure of their balance and who run over rough ground all day without clothes on, have a certain number of inevitable cuts and bruises, which smart when exposed to water. Another factor making for discomfort is that the women have exceedingly calloused hands and, by and large, impressed me as being singularly rough in rubbing down their children. This lack of gentleness in touch was also impressed on me when my native houseboys assisted me in dressing wounds. It was so marked that I could never entrust to them any very painful cases, for fear the patients would prefer their wounds to the treatment.

SEX

Sex experiences during this early period of childhood seem confined to masturbation, which goes on freely in public. Little boys are commonly seen standing on the fringe of an adult group manipulating their penes with complete self-engrossment. Sex knowledge, as contrasted with sex experiences, at this time is completely accessible to children, since the common living room affords no privacy and there is no attempt to modify adult conversation when children are present. Although I have no direct evidence to this effect, it seems improbable that knowledge of intercourse and birth as well as the terminology is not the commonplace property of five-year-old children.

SLEEPING

Sleeping habits for early childhood continue the pattern of close physical contact that was present in infancy. If the child is the last born, it may go on sleeping with the mother up to the age of seven or eight. If it is displaced by the birth of another, it will sleep with an older sibling of either sex or with some adult. The lack of regular habits of sleep should be stressed, since this parallels a point to be made in connection with discipline. At night a household is roused at least once and frequently oftener by some member who has dreamed and gets up

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vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the ma- 869
lignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a 775
ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of 858
teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A 522
case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' [177
voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast 538
are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through decep- 761
tion, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely dur- 864
ing early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loin- [856]
cloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of ag- [845]
gression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

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doubtedly occurs, both in homosexual and heterosexual forms. The autobiographies of Tilapada and Lomani contain accounts of girls' assuming the role of males in play, but these anecdotes do not indicate that any overt homosexual practices were employed. They may represent an ego problem in which certain girls were rebellious at the less privileged feminine role and were escaping in fantasy to the masculine one. There is, however, one reported case of mutual masturbation between girls. The society disapproves and is shocked by overt homosexual practices between girls but does not object to play activities of the sort described in Tilapada's autobiography. Homosexual practices between small boys are reported. An informant insisted that "only small boys of between five and seven" indulge in this sort of play. It is said that if such behavior comes to the attention of any adult the children are scolded, but that it is not considered an offense of sufficient magnitude to warrant corporal punishment. It seems unlikely that sexual practices of this type are anything but sporadic occurrences, and they certainly do not loom as a problem in the awareness of the Atimelanger.

Play groups of boys often join groups of girls in field houses for several days at a time. Adults are usually suspicious of such alliances and are inclined to warn the girls against the boys. These play groups usually imitate adult relationships. This may at times take the form of attempted intercourse, performed either secretly in pairs or within a group of age-mates. As one informant put it, "Children hear their mothers and fathers having intercourse. Then they say to each other, 'Our parents do this, so let us also.'" Such behavior is not approved by adults, but when reported or discovered it is likely to be shrugged off as mere play. There is also much rivalry between boys and girls, which may break out into roughhousing that is definitely sexual among the older children. In younger children actual physical contact between those of the same or the opposite sex is casual and unselfconscious. Delousing, a form of perfectly proper and affectionate attention, is seen frequently among boys and girls. In general, bodily contacts are taken casually by both children and adults.

The freedom of children in relation to sex matters was illustrated by a bit of free play set up for them, with the purpose of securing sibling rivalry play. An amputation doll* was used to represent the mother, a rubber doll the older sibling, and a small celluloid doll the nursing infant.

*An amputation doll is one whose joints are so constructed that the figure can be dismembered and reassembled.

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I set down the three dolls on my verandah floor. A boy about ten years old immediately said, "It is a man, his wife, and child." I suggested that it was a woman and her two children. The four or five children, ranging in ages from seven to ten years, accepted this politely for a time, although L asked, "Have you a man too?" When I said I had no male doll, B commented, "They are divorced." Actually his own parents were not. B then sent the mother off to work in the fields and left the older sibling in charge of the infant. L, however, promptly brought the mother back from the fields and put the infant in her arms. B immediately picked up the larger doll, laid it in the mother's lap and said, "She nurses her older child too." (Note: the same word, *bebuike*, is used for—to drink, to nurse, and to hold in the arms and fondle and is applied to both males and females.) Then he said, "No, that isn't good," and stood the larger doll between the legs of the seated mother. A then placed the infant doll in the same position, saying, "It is being born." Whereupon L chimed in with the single word "Copulation." This suggests that the role of the larger doll had reverted to that of husband. At this point my interpreter joined the group and laid the larger doll on top of the mother doll. L put the infant doll under the mother.

I then gave the children some plasticine and L immediately made a loincloth for the mother doll. The others began modeling hats and bits of clothing. Next I drew a dance place with chalk on the floor and made the central altar of plasticine. L seated the mother, put the child between her legs in a birth position, and laid the large doll face downward on the mother doll. Some other children placed on the dance place the plasticine models of mokos they had been making. L said, "They copulate, the child is born, and here are the mokos to pay for the woman."

At this point a young man of about twenty joined us, picked up the mother and infant doll, and holding the infant to the mother's breast said, "It is nursing." I said, "But there are no breasts, and the child will be hungry." There was no reaction to this comment, so I modeled one clay breast and placed it on the mother doll. L promptly placed the infant doll against it. I pointed out that there was only one breast, but none of the children attempted to make up the deficiency. Just then an older man came up onto the verandah, and to avoid further interruption and hold the children's attention I showed them that the mother doll could be disjointed. They seemed only mildly interested, and although I told them they might take the doll apart, none of them attempted it.

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Even though there are these numerous traumata in connection with feeding, weaning is not traumatic. But the readiness with which children suck at objects which resemble breasts is a further indication of the effects of poor maternal care. A child free of hunger tensions can expand the character of its contacts with the mother, and once she becomes a dependable object the child has a reliable buffer against the outer world. If this buffer is absent, nothing but anxiety and inhibitions can result. This shows itself chiefly as a lack of interest both in the outer world and in those ego components through which mastery of it is effected.

Two additional features must be mentioned. First, the mother does not find the feeding of the child particularly pleasurable. This is very likely to be the case when the mother herself has been through the experience that she now imposes on the child. A second point is that in many of the illnesses which the child suffers at this time, it is the father who is blamed for having broken a taboo or one of the abstinences imposed upon him during the early life of the child. In this way the mother escapes a blame which she undoubtedly feels.

The fact that mothers occasionally masturbate their children while feeding them is no commentary on their sex morality but on the fact that the masturbatic activity is used as a palliative; and it is very likely that sexual gratification thus becomes very early in life established as a means of placating the child for frustrations suffered in other directions.

With regard to training the child to walk and talk, little deliberate effort is made. From comparisons with children in our society one can safely deduce the fact that the child is subject to a continuous series of frustrations in its efforts to establish some mastery over the world. This means also that positive and enterprising attitudes toward the world are not developed, for failures foster inhibitions.

While the child is thus not encouraged to strong ego formation in early childhood, there is an extenuating circumstance in the fact that it is not subjected to discipline which it cannot understand. There is a conspicuous absence of restrictive discipline, particularly in connection with anal training. Here it may be noted that the Alorese seem to have no buttock erotic sensitivity or consciousness. This zone is seemingly devoid of significance — nor is it used in punishing children, as is the case in our society. Anal training seems to be synchronous with growth and is taught mainly by example. Hence these activities cannot contribute very much to the formation of the ego ideal.

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857 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are [867] frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolangkaliets mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor 864 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ- 593 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex- 155 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother teases and cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by [562] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu- [586] ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The super- [837] cilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin 182 in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

855 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character. 155 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the 593 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely 155 to have a peculiarly hollow inflation. The sexual role of the father, 593 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

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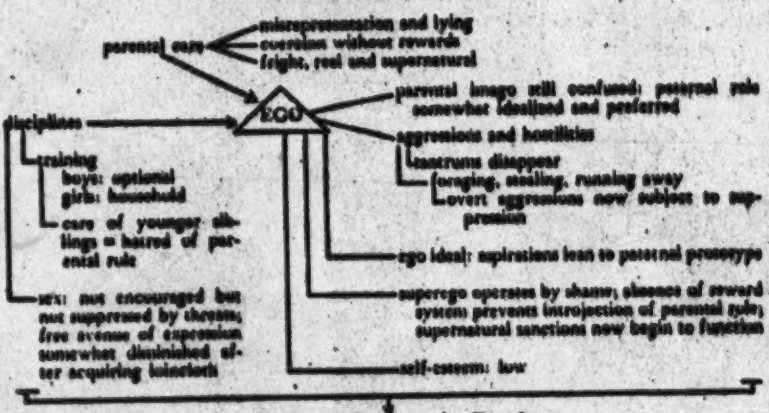
593 857 have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the oldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

● 864 155 The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

838 832 861 155 A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

154 865 155 So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

Chart II. Late Childhood


misrepresentation and lying
coercion without rewards
fright, real and supernatural
parental care
parental image still confused; paternal rule somewhat idealized and preferred
EGO
disciplines
aggressions and hostilities
training
boys: optional
girls: household
restraints disappear
(ranging, stealing, running away
overt aggressions now subject to suppression
care of younger siblings = hatred of parental rule
ego ideal: aspirations lean to paternal prototype
sex: not encouraged but not suppressed by threats; free avenue of expression somewhat diminished after acquiring loincloth
superego operates by shame; absence of reward system prevents introjection of parental rule; supernatural sanctions now begin to function
self-esteem: low

Resultant traits same as for Chart I.

more distrust and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the internal sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no permissive disciplines at this time, and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that none of its rights in the family are inviolate, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather laissez-faire attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

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It is likely that these opportunities for both stealing and sex activity prevent the aggressions of early childhood from reaching explosive forms later.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of aggression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in childhood; it still remains low. The child must still have the idea that it is a supernumerary, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In this respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious restrictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advantages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy to any strikingly new experience; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by virtue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into manhood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage is rigidly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is thus actually canceled. The situation eventually arises where the father actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system of coercions without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father becomes the envied objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he

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×189 his father's father. He said he was the first to kill men. When it was deer-hunting time at Abuiwati, people came and asked him to join them. At that time, when Abuiwati people shot deer, two brothers were accustomed to come and take the deer from them. They asked Momsug to help, because he was a strong man. [Malelaka then repeated in substantially the same form the episode of the preceding day.]

[I asked about masturbation and scolding for it.] When I was still small, about twelve or thirteen, Senmale put a wild bean in his penis. His father and mother were angry with him; his mother slapped his hand and his father scolded him, saying, "Now you are doing something bad."

[864] Once some girls were playing. They were pouring sand on each other's backs. Two of them stuffed the third one's genitals full of sand. Then her father hit the two playmates. [Question.] They were still small, about five or six years old. When we were older they teased Senmale about putting the bean in his penis, and I teased the girls for putting sand in their playmate's vagina, and they hit me.

Once Lakamobi, when he was still small, twisted and bent his penis so hard as he played with it that it wasn't straight any more. It just stayed crooked. Lakamobi's father said, "Why don't you work? You just play with your penis. Now I am going to scrape your hands on stones. When I was small my father dragged my hands in dirt all the way to the garden to teach me industry. Now I am going to drag yours over stone."

When I was still small I put a pea in my ear and we could not get it out. It was there for two years before it came out. It almost sprouted so that leaves came out of my ear. When they pulled it out, its skin was already split as if to sprout." [Question.] I was five or six at the time. My father pulled my ear for this. He was angry and said, "Why do you stuff peas in your ear in view of the fact that I don't strike you?" [The implication was that a child might harm himself out of spite, but that in this case there was no cause for spite.]

Two years later Kolata, a Kewai girl, whose mother was my father's kinswoman, was here planting corn. The child cried and said an insect had entered her ear. I looked and there was a small Chinese bead in her ear. I tried to take it out but couldn't. The girl's ear hurt, and her mother's stomach ached. Both of them cried all night long, and the next day they went home. When I looked in her ear it was not an insect but a bead, and even a seer could not take it out. Later I met her and asked about it, and she said it must have fallen out of itself or gone down the ear hole, since it no longer hurt her.